conuco--cultivated areas
curiara--the native canoe
guayucos--loincloths
hamacas--hammocks
hɨwɨ̃awán--the priest
hɨnpɨrɨ̃b--a soul who goes to live in the house of Omao as hɨ̃kula-d̃ib
hɨ̃kula--an immortal and spiritual vital principle in plants and animals, different than the soul
hɨ̃kula-d̃ib--ancestors
jefe--chief
káilala--the magician
morrocoy--turtle
póliawan--the jaguar; also used for the domestic dog
shabí--the shaman

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/4 cont./

648 agencies, so to speak, in the primeval forest. It is also one of the duties of the personnel, however, to lay out plantations for their own living, where they grow manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, mamão /papaya/, beans, tobacco, sugar cane, etc. In addition, they hunt and fish.

Since living conditions are more favorable on the Aracá and the work of the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) is more remunerative than that of the rubber gatherers, the population here is four times as large as on the Demini. The region of the Indians begins at the Cachoeira dos Indios (Ills. 2 and 3). There is not as yet, however, any Indian protection post on the Rio Aracá.

/5/

114 III. The Ethnic Affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái

As early as the beginning of the previous century important investigators, among them Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, undertook ethnographic and in part linguistic studies in the northern and western part of the area between Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro among a few groups of the Xiriána /Shiriana/ (5b) and Waiká /Waica/, which were broadened and

[104] 5b. X is pronounced like sch /in German/.

deepened by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster in 1954/55, especially with regard to the Waiká (6a) (Waika) in the catchment

[194] 6a. When the Surára and Pakidái pronounce the tribal name of the Waiká, their worst enemies, they always accent the final a.

[197] area of the upper Orinoco (6b). Their work was supported by North

6b. Zerries, 1956a.

American missionaries who have been in touch with the

/134 cont./
114
197 (for him Shirianá, Shirianán), but disregards the unknown Pusarakaú (10). His attempt at a classification of this family, in

10. Mason, 1950, p. 254.

which he subordinates the Waika (Waicá) to the Siriana (Shirianá) /135/ and contrasts the two, put together as Waharibo (Guaharibo), Karimé (Carimé) (11), remains questionable (cf. p. ?). It has

11. Ibid.

been taken over and expanded by N. A. McQuown, however, whereby he again introduces the unknown Pusarakaú and adds a questionable, likewise linguistically unknown Guaharibo (12).

12. McQuown, 1955.

114
100 Since in McQuown's work the classification is not clear, I am
197 giving it here in the form of a table, in which I am retaining the not always fortunate orthography of McQuown:

Z. 15. CHIRIANAN.

a. Guahariban. Ven. Br.

α. Chiriana (861). N2-4° W61-64°30' Br.

β. Uaica (860). N1°30'-2° W62-4°, N3°30' W63°39', N4° W62°† Br.; N2-3° W64°, N3° W65° Ven.

γ. ? Guaharibo (495). N3° W65° Ven. Br.

b. Carime (845). N4° W64° Br.

c. Pusaracau (844). N3° W64° Br.

"Ven." means Venezuela, "Br." Brazil; the numbers in parentheses after the names of languages refer to McQuown's place-maps; the other data are the geographical co-ordinates of the places where the languages are spoken or (if followed by †) were spoken (in this connection it should be noted that Karimé erroneously appears on the north bank of the Uraricuera instead of on the Catrimani, considerably to the south of it [approximately N1°30' W62°30']).

/135 cont./

114 197 however, Čiriana and Čapakura are still to be regarded as two independent linguistic groups.

128 197 In the following, only a small selection of Surára words are offered, along with the corresponding words of Waika (according to Schuster) (16), Karimé (according to Salathé, 1932),

(122)

16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the Waika linguistic material that he is working on.

Širianá (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and Warema (according to Vinci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages compared. Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with Surára informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by P) which a Pakidái informant gave him.

104 194 The transcription of the five lists has been standardized; that of Karimé has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two h and š sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as h and š. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: ë = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ï = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ã, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open e; š = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; x = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

CHAPTER I

YĘNOMAMÖ CULTURE AND EARLIER ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK[1]

101 ### A. Yąnomamö Culture

The Yąnomamö are discussed in the literature under such tribal designations as Guaica, Waika, Guaharibo, Makú, Sohiriana, Xiriana, Kirischana, Shidishana, Shamatari, Sanema, and Yanoama. Most of the terms are derogatory names applied to the Yąnomamö by their neighbors and characterize the people as being monkey-like or as savages.[2]

[104] In the upper Orinoco and the Mavaca basin where I conducted my field work, the Indians referred to themselves as Yąnomamö, which at once defines their mode of life, language, origin, and includes all people who share this mode of life, language and origin. All non-Yąnomamö are collectively

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[1] As there are very few reliable English sources describing Yąnomamö social organization and culture, I give a brief description of them here. The best source in English to date is Zerries' 1955 publication, but it deals only with particular traits of Yąnomamö culture.

[127] [94] [104] [2] The word Yąnomamö is nasalized on every syllable, but for ease of typing this manuscript, I have not indicated all the nasalization. The vowel /-ə-/ is written /-ë-/. I have written the /- ə -/ as "-ë-" and have indicated nasalization by /-,-/; whenever a Yąnomamö word has one nasalized syllable, all syllables in that word are nasalized.

amoamo--dancing and singing of Yanoama men at feasts
basho--a large monkey. very desirable as food
broke--empty or void
buhli--one kind of human soul: will: self
date--a thick. sweet soup made from boiled plantains
ebene--a hallucinogenic drug
hashimo--a type of grouse hunted
hearoya--"husband"; the group from which a woman gets a husband
hekura--demons used by the shaman
henicmou--the week-long hunting trip of the men
hikari thka--a garden or jungle that has the potential for becoming a garden
humbou--state of emotional disequilibrium
mashi--exogamous patrilineal lineages; species. group; cluster of similar things
no borehoe--buhli after death
nomohoni--treachery
noreshi--a sort of spirit or portion of the soul. and in addition an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul.
no uhudi (or hore)--the portion of the soul released after cremation
roo--"squatting"; menstruation
shabono--permanent house made out of wood material

104

shabori--shaman
shobariwaka--hell
shoriwae--brother-in-law
suaboeya--"wife"; group from which a man takes his wife
waiteri--fierce one
yai--spirits
yobõmou--girl's first menses

11: Chagnon E-S (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

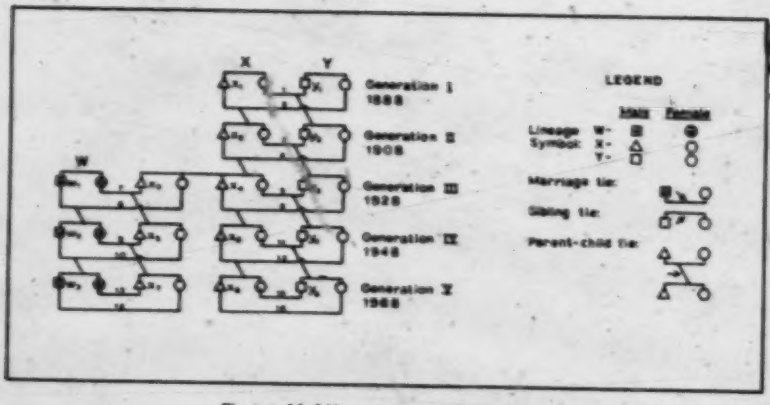

Fig. 3–1. Ideal Yąnomamö marriage pattern.

Fig. 3–1 can be presumed to represent the organization of a particular village over five generations, starting in the year 1888. Let us assume that the village originated in that year when individuals x_1 (and his sister, not numbered) and y_1 (and his sister) broke away from a larger village and established their own garden at some new location. Thus, in the year 1888, the village was comprised of two groups of kinsmen, X and Y. These two kinship groups are called lineages, the distinctive features of which I will discuss later.

In generation I, x_1 married the sister of y_1 and, in exchange, gave his own sister to y_1 as wife. This marriage practice is called *brother-sister* exchange and characterizes Yąnomamö marriage behavior. A man is under considerable obligation to *reciprocate* a woman to the kinship group from which he has taken one. In Fig. 3–1, x_3 married y_1's sister and reciprocated the exchange by giving his own sister to y_1. Because of this obligation of reciprocity, kinship groups become interdependent socially and form pairs of woman-exchanging kin groups. These paired kinship groups are discussed below in the context of village fissioning.

In generation II of Fig. 3–1, the village still contains only two groups of intermarrying kinsmen. These are the children of the individuals who founded the village. The reciprocal exchanges of women between the two groups of kinsmen (lineages X and Y) continue in the second generation, x_2 getting his wife from lineage Y and vice versa. Like their fathers, x_2 and y_2 exchanged sisters. It will be noted at this point that x_2 has married his mother's brother's daughter, who is simultaneously his father's sister's daughter.[1] This is a logical consequence of the fact that there are only *two* lineages in

[1] This is called bilateral cross-cousin marriage. See glossary for definitions. Hereafter the following abbreviations will be used, following Murdock, 1949: Mo—mother; Fa—father; Br—brother; Si—sister; So—son; and Da—daughter. Thus, "mother's brother's daughter" is simply MoBrDa.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Glossary

AFFINES: Relatives by marriage. These can also include blood relatives when, for example, a man marries his mother's brother's daughter. The word "cognate" is used to describe those blood relatives who are related by marriage. Cognates also include kinsmen who have a common ancestor. 104

AGNATES: Persons who trace their relationships to each other through males. This is distinct from cognatic kinship, where the relationship may be traced through either males or females.

BANANA, WILD: A distant relative to the common banana, but producing a fruit pod that is very different from the banana. The pod contains seeds that taste like maize. It is the only American member of the Musaceae family. Plantains and bananas now cultivated by the Yąnomamö were probably introduced to the Americas after Columbus.

BIFURCATING MERGING: A term used to describe the widespread type of kinship system in which an individual's paternal relatives are distinguished (bifurcated) from maternal relatives in the terminology. Furthermore, a single term is used in reference to, for example, father and father's brother; that is, they are merged terminologically into the same kinship category. The Yąnomamö have the most commonly found variant of this type, the Iroquois system. *See* Iroquois kinship terms.

BILATERAL CROSS-COUSINS: In practical terms, an individual's mother's brother's children *together with* his father's sister's children. Unilateral cross-cousins are mother's brother's children *or* father's sister's children, but not both. These two terms are frequently ued in discussions of types of marriage rules found in primitive societies. Mother's brother's daughter is a *uni*lateral cross-cousin; properly speaking, she is a *matri*lateral cross-cousin. In Yąnomamö (Iroquois) kinship this person is simultaneously father's sister's daughter. Some societies have rules forbidding marriage with the latter type of cousin, that is, they have a *uni*lateral cross-cousin marriage rule. *See* Cross-cousins.

COGNATES: Individuals who are related to each other through either males or females. *See* Affines, Agnates.

CORPORATION: A group of people sharing some estate, having definite rights with respect to each other and to the estate, and able to demonstrate their membership to that group by citing a recognized rule concerning recruitment.

CROSS-COUSINS: The children of a man and his sister are cross-cousins to each other. The children of a man and his brother are *parallel* cousins to each other. Similarly, the children of a woman and her sister are parallel cousins.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

• 104 DEMOGRAPHY: The study of populations with the intention of gathering certain kinds of vital statistics, such as birth rate, death rate, and family size.

DEMONSTRATED KINSHIP: Tracing relationships to kinsmen by citing the putative biological links. *See* Lineage.

IROQUOIS KINSHIP TERMS: Classifying both kinds of cross-cousins (matrilateral and patrilateral) into the same kinship category and distinguishing them from brothers and sisters and parallel cousins. In most Iroquois systems the parallel cousins are called by the same terms that are used for brothers and sisters.

LEVIRATE: A rule enjoining a man to marry the widow of his dead brother.

LINEAGE: A kinship group comprised of people who trace relationships to each other through either males or females, but not both. If the relationship is traced through males, as among the Yąnomamö, the group so defined is a *patri*lineage. The distinctive feature of the lineage is that the relationships are demonstrated by citing genealogical links. In a clan, relationships are merely *stipulated* by citing the fact that the two individuals in question belong to the same named kinship group. In short, a clan is a *named lineage* the members of which do not remember or do not care how they are related to each other biologically. *See* Demonstrated kinship.

LOCAL DESCENT GROUP: Among the Yąnomamö, a group of people who are related to each other patrilineally, who live in the same village, and one of whose major functions is to arrange marriages for the younger members of the group. It is usually the older males of the group who arrange the marriages.

MACHETE: A broad-bladed, long knife commonly used throughout South America for cutting brush. The closest English equivalent is the cutlass.

MATRILATERAL: Tracing relationships on the mother's side.

PATRILATERAL: Tracing relationships on the father's side.

PLANTAIN: A member of the banana family. The fruit looks like the common banana, but is considerably larger. When ripe, the fruit resembles the common banana in taste, but differs in that its texture is crude and stringy. Plantains are usually eaten cooked. Green plantains resemble raw potatoes in taste, even after cooking. Plantains appear to have been introduced to the Americas after the arrival of Europeans, but they spread with such rapidity that many early travelers described them as being native crops. (*See* References, Reynolds, 1927.)

SIBLINGS: One's brothers and sisters.

SORORAL POLYGYNY: A type of marriage in which a man marries two or more women who are related to each other as sisters.

TEKNONYMY: The practice of addressing an individual by the name of one of his children rather than by his own personal name. A kinship term is used in combination with the child's name, such as *father* of so-and-so.

105

105 CULTURAL SUMMARY--synopsis of the whole culture (as a background for specific information); references to summaries in other works. See also:

Cultural history . . . . . 17 Ethos 181

/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
221 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps
182 the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

● 105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

/121 cont./

105
621
182

realms of this people: /122/ elements related to hunting for wild food, such as the group of families connected by kinship in various ways, for which, in accordance with its structure, one could probably use "roving horde" or similar terms, have held their ground and actively maintained themselves against those forms connected with agriculture and sedentariness, in our case the permanent village society. The Waika are now just at the point where the high economic preponderence of cultivated plants is beginning to make corresponding changes in the noneconomic cultural spheres.

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 514

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista. They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

/201 cont./

342 The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire. [352]

177 342 The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type) the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation. 353 [179]

● 105 422 484 The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them. [352]

St Layrisse et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá:* (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudîb, (c) Pubenatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudîb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubenatari = 17 mc, Nabudîb-Pubenatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare:* (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

2 Surara-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Becher, 1953; Schuster, 1958; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1939; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 525; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 20; Dall' Igna Rodrigues, 1960, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Drs H. Becher and O. Zerries for having us have a basic vocabulary of Surara-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

St Layrisse et al. D. E-8 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal separation of 30 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirioana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-6 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hāwiawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*subli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kāilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *subli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hāwiawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1953, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1956, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1959.

Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*621 *628 578 726 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yanomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*621 *628 602 582 583 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yanomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yanomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yanomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

have chronic warfare, results in a distinctive settlement pattern and system of alliances that permits groups of people to exploit a given area over a relatively long period of time. Finally, the Yąnomamö explain the nature of man's ferocity and origin in myth and legend, articulating themselves intellectually with the observable, real world.

Thus, each individual Yąnomamö enters the world with the physical, social, and ideological traditions at his disposal that will permit him to confront and adjust to the jungle, his neighbors, and the demons that cause sickness. The cosmos is ordered and orderly, in *fonda* as it is on earth.